

WITCHCRAFT

Farther Display'd.

CONTAINING

I. An Account of the *Witchcraft* practis'd by JANE WENHAM of *Walkerne*, in *Hertfordshire*, since her Condemnation, upon the Bodies of ANNE THORN and ANNE STREET, and the deplorable Condition in which they still remain.

II. An Answer to the most general Objections against the Being and Power of WITCHES : With some Remarks upon the Case of JANE WENHAM in particular, and on Mr. Justice POWEL's Procedure therein.

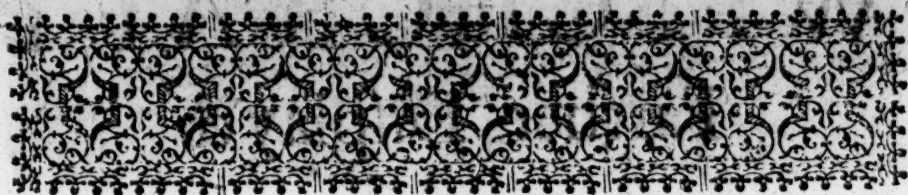
To which are added,

The TRYALS of FLORENCE NEWTON, a famous *Irish Witch*, at the Assizes held at *Cork*, Anno 1661; as also of two WITCHES at the Assizes held at *Bury St. Edmonds* in *Suffolk*, Anno 1664, before Sir MATTHEW HALE, (then Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*) who were found guilty and executed.

Now the Works of the Flesh are manifest, which are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanness, Lasciviousness, Idolatry, Witchcraft, &c. Galat. Chap. V. Vers. 19, 20.

L O N D O N,

Printed for E. CURLL, at the *Dial and Bible* against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-Street*, 1712. Price 6 d. Where may be had, The TRYAL and PROCEEDINGS at large against *Jane Wenham*, at *Hertford-Assizes*. Price 6 d.



Introduction.

AFTER having, in as plain and clear a Manner as I could, given the World a full and true Account of the Proceedings against *Jane Wenham*, I was in hopes that I should have no farther Occasion to divert my Pen from some other much more important Subjects, which I was engag'd in, both by Duty and Inclination.

But being inform'd, that the *Incredulity* of the Judge, together with the great Proneness of the Age to *Sadducism* and Infidelity, had caus'd many Objections to be rais'd against that faithful and impartial Relation of *Matter of Fact*, I thought my self oblig'd, for my own Vindication, and that of the Persons principally concern'd in the Prosecution, not to remain silent, when I had so much to urge in my Defence.

In order to which, I first present my Reader with an Abstract of a famous Tryal of two Witches before the Great and Good Sir *Matthew Hale*, a Man too well known to need any *Encomiums*, either for his *Piety*, or *Knowledge in the Law*; and it is humbly hop'd, that his declar'd Opinion, that *there were really such Persons as Witches*, will be put in the Ballance with that of Mr. Justice *Powel*.

Having also, upon reading Mr. *Glanvil's* Book, met with an Instance of a Discovery of Witchcraft, almost in every Circumstance agreeing with our Case, I thought my self oblig'd to insert it with Observations upon those parts of it which so nearly resemble our particular Case, that the one seems to be a Copy of the other.

I have also, for the Satisfaction of some honest Gentlemen, who never had any Occasion to enquire into these Matters, and disbelieve the Being and Power of Witches, upon the Prejudices of Education only, thought fit to represent fairly to them all the most material Objections that are rais'd against the Belief of such Stories, and have endeavour'd to keep my self to such a plain way of solving these Difficulties, as may be understood by ordinary Capacities. For which Reason I have industriously avoided any nice and philosophical Disquisitions relating to the

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Nature and Being of Spirits in general, and suppose my Reader to be a Christian, and Believer of the *Holy Scriptures*.

But as I doubt not but those who have read my former Account, would be glad to know in what Condition the two poor afflicted Creatures are in at present, so I think the Relation of it may possibly serve to other good Ends, and convince some Unbelievers; and therefore I shall acquaint my Reader what to my own knowledge has pass'd since the printing of the above-mention'd Narrative, which, tho' not sworn yet before any Magistrate, yet I can assure him is nothing but the Truth.

Anne Thorn continues to be frequently troubl'd with the Apparition either of *Jane Wenham* in her own Shape, or that of a Cat, which speaks to her, and tempts her to destroy herself with a Knife that it brings along with it. On the 18th of *March* particularly, it came to her, and spoke as usual; upon which *Anne Thorn* fell into a Fit, and recovering by Prayers, she took up the Bible and fell to Reading. While the Book was in her Hands, she perceiv'd something pull it from her, and she was forc'd to let it fall. Three Persons who were then in the Room with her, took up the Bible and endeavour'd to hold it in her Hands, but all their Strength could not do it, the Book being violently taken away from them, and flung to the Ground. At the same Time *Anne Thorn* cry'd out, she was prick'd in the Hand, and when they look'd on her Hand, it bled, and seem'd to have been prick'd with a Pen.

Another Thing still more remarkable, happen'd to this unhappy Maid. On *Thursday* the 27th of *March*, she at first perceiv'd a strange Numbness in two of her Fingers, which was succeeded by a violent Pain in her Wrist, and in an Hour or two afterward, she could not stir her Hand, and her Wrist seem'd to be out of Joint, altho' she knew not how it was hurt. Upon which she was sent to the Bone-setter, who affirm'd that the Bone was above an Inch out of its Place, and did set it. When *Anne Thorn* was return'd home, this Cat came again to her, and brought her a Knife, bidding her not mind what those about said to her, but cut her Throat, and she should be well. She has several Times since seen the Cat, who brought her once a Razor, and upon her refusing to take it, the Cat said, I'll go to *Nau Street*, and she will take it; and it was found that exactly at that Time the Cat appear'd to *Anne Street*, and offer'd her a Razor.

This *Anne Street* continues also in a strange Condition, and is often troubl'd with the Apparition of this Cat, as also of a Dog which accompanies her. On *Thursday* the 27th of *March*, she says, this Dog came to her, bidding her come out; and upon her saying her Prayers, he went away for the present,

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sent, but in the Afternoon, about five a Clock, she saw the Dog again, who bad her follow him to the River, and she says he ran before her, and she follow'd him, but before she got to the River, three Men met her, and brought her home, after which she fell into a Fit, and was recover'd by Prayers.

On *Saturday* following, she says, she saw the Cat again in the Yard, it spoke to her, bidding her hang her self with her Garter, or cut her Throat with a Razor; and after the Cat was gone, *Anne Street* was grievously pinch'd in the Arm, she knew not how.

The next Day also she saw the Cat, and was pinch'd; and at Night a Rapping was hear'd at the Window by all that were present; after which, a Noise was heard as of a Woman crying under the Window, for four Hours together, tho' nothing was to be seen.

On *Monday* Night, being the 31st, she saw *Jane Wenham* again in her own Shape, but she went away upon *Anne Street's* saying her Prayers, and she has not been troubl'd since that Time, to this present Day, the 3d of *April*.

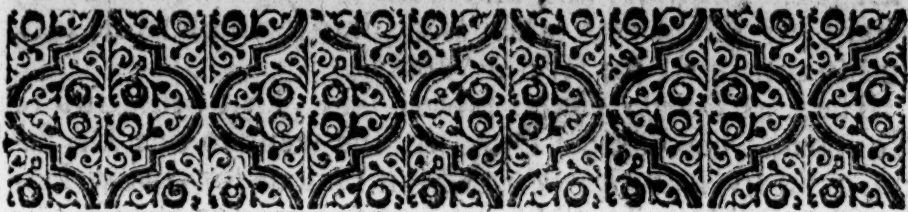
As for Mother *Wenham*, I hear she has found out a Way to get plenty of Money while she is in Prison. She says she was prosecuted out of Spite, only because she went to the *Dissenting Meetings*: And by this Means, she gets Contributions from the Party: And of a wicked old Witch, is on a sudden become a *precious Saint*. This Story put me upon enquiring of Mr. *Gardiner*, whether she had ever been counted a Dissenter, and he declares, that he never before heard that she us'd to go to any Place of Divine Worship, and that he never took her to be of any Religion at all; however, we are very willing to part with her, and wish the Fanaticks much Joy of their new Convert.

I shall only take Notice of one Thing more to the Reader, viz. to assure him that neither Mr. *Gardiner*, nor Mr. *Strutt*, had any Hand in writing the Narrative of the Proceedings against *Jane Wenham*, altho' they are both Witnesses to the Truth of it; so that some Gentlemen (who in Justice and Gratitude, as well as good Manners, ought to have held their Tongues) might as well have spar'd their *personal Reflections*.

Ardely-Bury, April
the 3d, 1712.

F. B.

AN



An Account of the TRYAL of Amy Duny, and Rose Cullender, for Witchcraft, at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds, in Suffolk, March 10. 1664. before Sir Matthew Hale, Knight, then Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

AMY Duny and Rose Cullender, both of *Leystoff*, in *Suffolk*, were severally indicted for bewitching *Elizabeth, Anne, and William Durent, Jane Bocking, Susan Chandler, Elizabeth and Deborah Pacey.*

When the Prosecutors were giving Directions for laying the Indictment, three of the afflicted Persons, *viz. Anne Durent, Susan Chandler, and Elizabeth Pacey*, fell into violent Fits, screaming in a dismal Manner; so that they were incapable of giving their Evidence; and altho' they did at length recover out of their Fits, yet they continu'd speechless till the Conviction of the Prisoners.

The first Witness at the *Trial*, was *Dorothy Durent*, who depos'd, That about the 10th of *March, nono Car. 2.* her Business calling her from Home, she left her Child, *William Durent*, (then a sucking Infant) to the Care of *Amy Duny* for a few Hours that she was absent; but strictly charg'd the said *Amy* not to give it Suck. Being ask'd what need there was of that Caution, *Amy* being an old Woman, and incapable of giving Suck? She answer'd, she knew she could not give Suck; but one Reason was, *Amy* had long had the Reputation of a Witch: Another was, it was usual with old Women, if they tended a sucking Child, and nothing else would please it, to give it the Breast, which must be pernicious to the Infant, who suck'd nothing but Wind. She said farther, That when she came Home, *Amy* told her, That she had suck'd her Child, contrary to her Orders. That upon this, she was very angry with *Amy*, who then threaten'd her in a great Rage, saying, *She had better have done something else, than have*

have found Fault with her, and went away; and that very Night her Child was taken with strange and terrible Fits, and so continu'd for several Weeks.

The said *Dorothy Durent* farther said, That being full of Concern at her Child's Disorder, she went to one Dr. *Jacob*, who liv'd at *Yarmouth*, a Man famous for curing Persons bewitch'd. This Man advis'd her to hang the Child's Blanket all Day in the Chimney-Corner, and at Night to wrap her Child in it, advising her not to be afraid, if she saw any Thing in the Blanket, but take it and fling it into the Fire. She did so; and at Night, when she look'd into the Blanket, there fell from it a great Toad, which ran about the Floor. A young Man who was with this Examinant, catch'd this Toad, and held it in the Fire with a Pair of Tongs. Immediately it made a great Noise, to which succeeded a Flash like Gun-powder, follow'd by a Report as great as that of a Pistol; and after this, the Toad was no more seen, neither was its Substance perceiv'd to consume in the Fire.

She said farther, That a Neice of the said *Amy Duny*, came to her this Examinant the next Day, and told her, that her Aunt (meaning *Amy*) was in a sad Condition, her Face being scorch'd with Fire, and that she was sitting alone stript to her Smock, without any Fire. That she this Examinant went immediately to *Amy Duny*, and saw her Face, Legs, and Thighs much scorch'd with Fire. That she ask'd *Amy* how she came in that Condition, *Amy* answer'd, *She might thank her for it, she was the Cause of it; but she should see some of her Children dead, and go on Crutches herself.* This Examinant said farther, That since the burning the Toad, this Child was well, and is yet alive.

She said also, That about the 6th of *March*, 11 *Car. 2.* *Elizabeth Durent*, her Daughter, was taken with like Fits with the first, and cry'd out, That *Amy Duny* appear'd to her, and tormented her. That she this Examinant going to fetch some Physick for her Child, when she return'd Home, she found *Amy* there, who said, *She came to see her Child, and give it some Water.* At which this Examinant was very angry with her, and thrust her out of the House; upon which *Amy* said, *You need not be so angry, your Child will not live long;* which prov'd true, for her Child dy'd in two Days after; and this Examinant really believes, that

that *Amy Dany* did bewitch her Child to Death, she having long had the Reputation of a Witch, and some of her Relations having suffer'd for Witchcraft.

She farther said, That soon after the Death of her Daughter *Elizabeth*, this Examinant was taken lame in both her Legs, and was forc'd to go upon Crutches; which she continu'd to do to this Time. The Court ask'd her, *Whether it were with her, when she was took lame, according to the Custom of Women?* She answer'd, It was, and always was so, but when she was with Child.

So far this Witness. It was remarkable, that altho' she had gone upon Crutches for three Years, and did so at the Assizes, before *Amy Dany* was convicted, yet then she was immediately restor'd to her Strength, and went Home without Crutches.

As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey*, the eldest about 11 Years old, as I said before, was taken with a Fit, and continu'd speechless. While she was in her Fit, she appear'd at first without any Symptom of Life, saving that her Stomach and Belly, when she drew her Breath, would rise to a great Height. Afterwards, when she was a little better, she lean'd her Head upon a Cushion laid over the Bar of the Court, with her Apron over her Head, and her Hand upon it, and continu'd in this Posture, 'till, by Order of the Judge, *Amy Dany* was brought privately to her, and touch'd her Hand; upon which, the Child, whose Eyes had been fast clos'd all this while, flew at *Amy*, and scratch'd her, and was hardly forc'd from her, and afterwards made many Signs of Eagerness to come at her.

Deborah, the youngest, was so ill, that she could not be brought to the Assizes. The Evidence relating to these two, was as follows:

Samuel Pacey, of *Leytsoff*, Merchant, (a sober good Man) being sworn, said, That on *Thursday* the 10th of *October* last, his younger Daughter *Deborah*, about nine Years old, was suddenly taken so lame, that she could not stand on her Legs, and so continu'd 'till the 17th of the same Month, when the Child desir'd to be carry'd to a Bank on the *East* Side of the House, looking towards the Sea; and while she was sitting there, *Amy Dany* came to this Examinant's House, to buy some Herrings, but was deny'd. Then she came twice more, but being as often deny'd, she went away discontented and grumbling. At

this Instant of Time, the Child was taken with terrible Fits, complaining of a Pain in her Stomach, as if she was prick'd with Pins, shrieking out with a Voice like a Whelp, and thus continu'd 'till the 30th of the same Month.

In the mean Time, Dr. Fearor was sent for, who declar'd to this Examinant, (and afterwards at the Tryal) That he could not conceive the Cause of the Child's Affliction. And farther, this Examinant saith, That *Amy Duny* having long had the Reputation of a Witch, and his Child having in the Intervals of her Fits, constantly cry'd out on her, as the Cause of her Disorder, and said, that the said *Amy* did appear to her, and fright her. He did suspect the said *Amy Duny* to be a Witch, and charg'd her with being the Cause of his Child's Illness, and set her in the Stocks. That while she was in the Stocks, *Alice Letteridge* and *Jane Baxton*, (who afterwards depos'd the same in Court) ask'd *Amy* what was the Reason of Mr. Pacey's Child's Illness, telling her they heard she had a Hand in't? She answer'd, *Mr. Pacey keeps a great Stir with his Child, but let him stay 'till he has done as much by his Children, as I have done by mine.* Being ask'd what was that, she said, *She had been fain to open her Child's Mouth with a Tap, to give it Victuals.*

He farther said, That two Days after his Daughter, *Elizabeth* was taken with such strange Fits, that they could not force open her Mouth without a Tap, which they were compell'd to use; and the younger Child being in the same Condition, they us'd to her the same Remedy.

He said also, That both Children would grievously complain, that *Amy Duny*, and another Woman, whose Habit and Looks they describ'd, did appear to them, and torment them, and would cry out, *There stands Amy Duny, There stands Rose Cullender*, the other Person who afflicted them.

Their Fits were not alike; sometimes they were lame on the Right Side, sometimes on the Left; sometimes so sore they could not bear to be touch'd; sometimes perfectly well in other Respects, but they could not hear; at other Times they could not see; sometimes they lost their Speech for one, two, and once eight Days together. At times they had swooning Fits, and when they could speak, were taken with a Fit of Coughing, and vomited Flegm and crooked Pins, and once a great Two-penny Nail,

Nail, with above 40 Pins, which Nail the Examinant said he saw vomited up, and many of the Pins. The Nail and Pins were produc'd in the Court. They usually vomited a Pin towards the End of a Fit, four or five of which they sometimes had in a Day.

Thus the Children continu'd for two Months, in which Time this Examinant often made 'em read in the *New Testament*, and observ'd when they came to the Words *Lord, Jesus, or Christ*, they could not pronounce them, but fell into a Fit. When they came to the Word *Satan, or Devil*, they would point, and say, *This bites, but makes me speak right well*. He said, That in the Intervals of the Fits, which he thinks occasion'd by naming *Lord, Jesus, or Christ*, he ask'd them why they could not speak those Words, they would say, *Amy Duny saith I must not use that Name*.

He said also, That his Children would say *Amy Duny* often appear'd to 'em, with *Rose Cullender*, and threaten'd 'em, *That if they told what they saw or heard, they would torment 'em ten times more than ever they did before*. That the Children would run to the Place where they fancy'd 'em to be sometimes spinning, sometimes reeling, in various Postures, threatening them.

This Examinant saith farther, That finding his Children thus tormented, without Hopes of Recovery, he sent them to his Sister *Margaret Arnold*, at *Tarmouth*, being willing to try whether Change of Air would help 'em, and refers to her the Relation of what happen'd to them afterwards.

Margaret Arnold being sworn, saith, That about the 30th of *November*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey* came to her House, with her Brother, who told her what had happen'd at his House, and that he thought his Children bewitch'd; but she this Examinant did not much regard it, supposing the Children had play'd Tricks, and put the Pins into their Mouths themselves. She therefore took all the Pins from their Cloths, sowing them with Thread, instead of pinning them. But notwithstanding, they rais'd at times at least 30 Pins in her Presence, and had terrible Fits; in which Fits they would cry out upon *Amy Duny* and *Rose Cullender*, saying they saw them, and heard them threatening as before. That they saw Things like Mice running about the House, and one of them catch'd one of them,

them, and threw it into the Fire, which made a Noise like a Rat.

Another Time the younger Child being out of Doors, a Thing like a Bee would have forc'd it self into her Mouth, at which the Child ran screaming into the House, and before this Examinant could come to her, fell into a Fit, and vomited a Two-penny Nail with a broad Head; and after that, this Examinant ask'd the Child how she came by this Nail, she answer'd, *The Bee brought the Nail, and forc'd it into her Mouth.*

At other times the eldest Child told this Examinant, That she saw Flies bring her crooked Pins, and then she would fall into a Fit, and vomit such Pins. One time the said Child said she saw a Mouse, and crept under the Table to look for it; and afterwards the Child seem'd to put something in her Apron, saying, *She had caught it,* and ran to the Fire and threw it in, on which did appear to this Examinant something like a Flash of Gun-powder, altho' she does own she saw nothing in the Child's Hand.

Once the Child being speechless, but otherwise very sensible, ran up and down the House, crying, *Hush, hush,* as if she had seen Poultry; but this Examinant saw nothing. At last the Child catch'd at something, and threw it into the Fire. Afterwards, when the Child could speak, this Examinant ask'd her what she saw at that time, she answer'd, *She saw a Duck.* Another time the youngest Child said after a Fit, That *Amy Duny* had been with her, and tempted her to drown herself, or cut her Throat, or otherwise destroy herself. Another time they both cry'd out of *Amy Duny* and *Rose Cullender*, saying, *Why don't you come your selves? why do you send your Imps to torment us?*

This Examinant farther saith, That she did let down these Things as they happen'd, and that she does really believe these Children are bewitch'd by *Amy Duny* and *Rose Cullender*, although at first she was not inclinable to think so.

Anne Durent was another of the Persons afflicted, and then present in Court.

Her Father, *Edmund Durent*, of *Leystoff*, being sworn, said, That towards the End of *November* last, *Rose Cullender* came to his House to buy Herrings of his Wife, who refus'd to let her have any; upon which, the said *Rose* went away seemingly angry. That afterwards, on the 1st of

December

December following, *Anne Durent*, his Daughter, complain'd of a sad Pain in her Stomach, like the pricking of Pins, and soon after fell into swooning Fits; and upon her Recovery, she cry'd out, that she had seen the Apparition of *Rose Cullender*, who threaten'd to torment her; and thus she continu'd (having vomited up several Pins, which were produc'd in Court) until the Assizes. This *Anne Durent* was then in Court, but could not give her Evidence, by Reason of strange Fits she fell into at the Sight of *Rose Cullender*.

Anne Baldwin being sworn, testify'd the same Thing as to *Anne Durent's* being bewitch'd.

Jane Bocking, another of the afflicted, was so ill, that she could not come to the Assizes. But as to her

Diana Bocking, of *Leytsoff*, was sworn, and said, Her Daughter, *Jane Bocking*, had been formerly troubl'd with Fits, but always recover'd of them; but on the 1st of *February* last, she complain'd grievously of a strange Pain in her Stomach, as if it had been prick'd with Pins, and fell afterwards into a Fit, and had many Returns of these Fits 'till this Time, eating little or nought, and often vomited crooked Pins, particularly on *Sunday* last she brought up seven of them. When she was in her Fits, she would spread Abroad her Arms, and use Postures as if she catch'd at something, with her Hands open, and then would shut 'em again; and upon opening her Hands, crooked Pins were found in 'em, altho' it could not be perceiv'd how they could be brought to her. At another time she talk'd in her Fits as if to some Person, (altho' she would take no Notice of any that were present) then she held out her Hand, saying, *I will not have it, I will not have it*. Afterwards she said, *I will*, and shut her Hands close, and upon forcing her Hand open, was found in it a Lath-Nail. She often cry'd out in her Fits, *There stands Rose Cullender at the Bed's Feet*; sometimes she said *she saw her at the Bed's Head*, and sometimes in other Places. Afterwards she was speechless for several Days, tho' not in Fits. When she could speak, she desir'd some Meat, and being ask'd why she did not speak in so many Days, she said, *Amy Duny would not let her*. The Pins and Nail were shewn in Court.

As to *Susan Chandler*, another of the afflicted, and in Court, her Mother, *Mary Chandler*, being sworn, said, That

That about the Beginning of *February* last, she was appointed, among five other Women, by Sir *Edmond Bacon*, (who had granted a Warrant against the Prisoners upon the Complaint of Mr. *Pacey*) to search the Bodies of the Prisoners. That they went to *Rose Cullender*, and told her they had Orders to search her Body, which she consented to. That having stript her naked, they began at her Head, and toward the Bottom of her Belly, they found something like a Teat, about an Inch long. Being question'd about it, she said, *She had got a Strain by carrying Water, which was the Cause of that Excrecence.* On farther Search, they found in her Privities more of these Teats, but smaller than the other. This Examinant saith farther, That at the End of the long Teat, was a little Hole, that it seem'd to have been newly suck'd, and it being squeez'd, there came out white Milky Matter.

She said also, That her said Daughter *Susan*, then a Servant in *Leystoff*, and about 18 Years old, having Business to rise the next Morning to wash, saw *Rose Cullender* appear to her, and the said *Rose* took her by the Hand; at which she was much frighted, and came to this Examinant, and told her of it. Then she fell extremely sick, complaining grievously of her Stomach; and that Night, being in Bed with another young Woman, she shriek'd out, crying *Rose Cullender would come to Bed to her*, and fell into grievous Fits, beating herself in a terrible Manner. In her Intervals, she said sometimes *she saw Rose Cullender*, sometimes *she saw her*, and a great Dog with her. She vomited many crooked Pins, and was sometimes stricken blind, at other times dumb, as she was for the present in Court; but being carry'd out, in half an Hour she recover'd her Speech; and being brought in again, and ask'd whether she could give her Evidence, she said she could. But being sworn, and ask'd what she could say against the Prisoners, she fell into a grievous Fit, and cry'd out, *Burn her, Burn her*; which was all she could say.

Robert Chandler being sworn, agreed with his Wife in all Parts of her Evidence, except that concerning the searching *Rose Cullender*.

This was all the Evidence relating to the bewitching these Children. At the Tryal were many eminent Persons; and among the rest, Mr. Serjeant *Keeling*, who was unsatisfy'd

unsatisfy'd with the Evidence, which he thought not sufficient to convict the Prisoners. For supposing these Persons were bewitch'd, yet their Imagination only was not sufficient to fix it on the Prisoners; else who could be safe, since their Fancies might possibly run on an innocent Person?

The learned Dr. *Browne* of *Normich*, being also present, was desir'd to give his Opinion of the three Persons in Court. He said he was clearly of Opinion, that they were bewitch'd; that there had lately been a Discovery of Witches in *Denmark*, who us'd the same Way of tormenting Persons, by conveying crooked Pins, Needles, and Nails into their Bodies. That he thought in such Cases the Devil acted upon Human Bodies, by natural Means, viz. By exciting and stirring up the super-abundant Humours, he did afflict them in a more surprizing Manner, by the same Diseases their Bodies were usually subject to. That these Fits might be natural, only rais'd to a great Degree, by the Subtily of the Devil co-operating with the Malice of these Witches.

Besides the above-mention'd Particulars, other Tryals were made to satisfy the Court, that the Children were really bewitch'd.

At first the Prisoners were brought into Court to the afflicted, to touch them; and upon the least Touch of them, (of *Rose Cullender* in particular, tho' before they seem'd void of all Sense, and their Fists were fast clench'd, so that a strong Man could not force them open) they instantly shriek'd out, and open'd their Hands; but when any other Person touch'd 'em, they took no Notice of it; and altho' they were blinded, lest they should privately see, *Rose Cullender's* touching them had the same Effect.

An ingenious Person that was present, objected, that this Experiment was not sufficient to find the Prisoners guilty, since the Children might counterfeit, and perceiving when she touch'd them, put themselves into those violent Motions.

It was therefore privately desir'd by the Judge, that some eminent Gentlemen in Court would attend one of the distemper'd Persons, while she was in her Fits, at the other End of the Hall, and bring one of the Witches to her, and see what would follow. They did so, and the Maid being blinded, *Amy Dany* was brought near; but a-

another Person touch'd her, and the Touch had the same Effect with that which the Witches had. Whereupon the Gentlemen return'd, and protested they believ'd the whole Business an Imposture. This put the whole Court to a Stand. At that, Mr. Pacey said, The Maid might be deceiv'd by a Suspicion, that the Witch touch'd her, when she did not. That he observ'd, that in all her Fits, she was sensible of what was done to her; which was afterwards confirm'd by the Maid, when she recover'd, on Conviction of the Prisoners. And in some Mens Opinion, this was rather a Confirmation that they were really bewitch'd, than a Sign of Fallacy. For it is impossible, that Children as they were, and of several Families no way related to each other, should be able all to deceive their Relations; and 'tis unreasonable to think, that they should conspire together to take away the Lives of two silly Women; and the Prisoners themselves did scarce so much as object that there was any Malice in the Case. Therefore, say they, that extraordinary Commotion of the Spirits of the Children, at the approach of these Women, and no others, shows, that they were the Persons that did bewitch 'em.

Secondly, *John Soam* of *Leystoff*, being sworn, said, That not long since he had three Harvest-Carts going into the Field to load; that one of them wrench'd the Window of *Rose Cullender*, who came out, and threaten'd him. That the other Carts went well enough, but this was overturn'd twice or thrice that Day. That they could not get it through a Gate, till they had cut down the Posts, altho' the Cart did not touch them; neither could they bring it to the Place where they would unload it, till the next Morning; and then they did it easily.

Robert Sherringham being sworn, said, That about two Years since the Axle-tree of his Cart broke down part of *Rose Cullender*'s House; upon which she threaten'd him in a great Rage, that his Horses should suffer for it. That soon after all those Horses, being four, dy'd. That he has since had great Losses in his Cattel, and was shortly after taken lame for some Days, and recover'd, but was so plagu'd with great Lice, that he was forc'd to burn two Suits of Cloaths; and then was well again.

Richard Spencer being sworn, said, That on the 1st of September last he heard *Amy Duny* say, That the Devil would

not let her rest, 'till she was reveng'd on Cornelius Sandeswell's Wife.

Anne, Wife to Cornelius Sandeswell, depos'd on Oath, That seven or eight Years ago, she having bought some Geese, Amy told her, *If she did not fetch 'em Home, they'd be destroy'd*; which happen'd accordingly. That Amy told her Husband, (who was her Landlord) That he must take Care of such a Chimney, or it would fall. That this Examinant reply'd, *'Twas a new one*. Soon after the Chimney fell down, as Amy had said. She said farther, That having a Firkin of Fish sent to her, which lay in *Leystoff Road*, she desir'd Amy to go with her, to help bring it Home. Amy reply'd, *She would go when she had it*. Then this Examinant said, That she went to the Boat-man, and demanded the Firkin. The Men told her, *They could not keep it in the Boat from falling into the Sea, they thought 'twas gone to the Devil, they never saw the like before*. She ask'd them whether they lost any other Goods? They said, *Not any*.

This was all the Evidence. The Prisoners saying nothing material to any Thing that was prov'd against them, the Judge, in his Direction to the Jury, wav'd repeating the Evidence, to avoid any Mistake, and told the Jury there were two Things they were to enquire into, *First*, Whether or no these Children were bewitch'd. *Secondly*, Whether these Women did bewitch them.

He said he did not in the least doubt but there were Witches: *First*, Because the Scriptures affirm it. *Secondly*, Because the Wisdom of all Nations, particularly our own, hath provided Laws against Witchcraft; which implies their Belief of such a Crime. He desir'd them strictly to observe the Evidence, and begg'd of God to direct their Hearts in the weighty Concern they had in Hand, since to condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, are both an Abomination to the Lord.

The Jury went from the Bar, and in half an Hour brought them in guilty of all the Indictments, being thirteen in Number.

The next Morning the three Children came to Sir *Matthew Hale's* Lodgings very well: And Mr. *Pacey* being asked at what Time they were thus restor'd to their Speech and Health, he answer'd, That within half an Hour after the Conviction of the Prisoners, they were all restor'd to

Health, and slept well that Night, without Pain, except *Susan Chandler*, who complain'd of a Pain like pricking of Pins in her Stomach.

After this, they came into Court ; but *Anne Durent* was afraid to look on the Witches, and pray'd that she might not see them. But the other two declar'd in open Court, before the Prisoners, (who did not much contradict them) that all that had been sworn to, was true. After this, the whole Court being satisfy'd with the Verdict, the Witches were sentenc'd to be hang'd.

Great Endeavours were us'd to bring them to Confession, but in vain, and they were executed on *Monday* the 17th of *March*, but confess'd nothing.

Observations on the foregoing Tryal of Amy Duny and Rose Cullender.

IT is very probable, that Mr. Justice *Powell* had never seen this Tryal, when he said in that of *Mother Wenham*, *That he never heard, that in any Witch's Tryal before, the afflicted Persons fell into a Fit in Court.* For here the Reader sees, that three Persons disturb'd, all fell into Fits at the Sight of the Prisoners ; which was exactly the Case of *Anne Thorn*. She was to all Appearance very well in the Morning, 'till she saw the wicked Author of her Torments in Court ; and then she fell into a Fit, as is related, p. 24. of the *Account of the Discovery of Sorcery, &c.*

But this Circumstance is not the only one in which these two Cases agree : For 1. As *Durent's* Child's Fits immediately succeeded upon *Amy Duny's* threatening her, *That she had as good have done otherwise, as have found Fault with her ;* so in our Case, immediately before *Anne Thorn's* first Fit, *Jane Wenham* threaten'd Mr. *Gardiner*, as you may see p. 3. and before the second she had threaten'd *Anne Thorn* herself. *That if she told any more such Stories of her, as if she had bewitch'd her, it should be worse with her, than it had been yet,* p. 5. to say nothing of her threatening her after Condemnation, that *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street* should not be well yet ; which has exactly come to pass since.

2. These

2. These two Cases agree also in the Circumstance of the Witches appearing to the Afflicted, before a Fit, in her own Shape ; and the very remarkable Passage of Pins being convey'd by invisible Means to the Hands of the Persons afflicted, is so exactly resembling the Case of *Anne Thorn*, that they seem to be the same Story. If the Reader will compare the Evidence of *Diana Becking* in this Tryal, with p. 19 of the Account, he will find they are so very much alike, that the one seems to be a Copy of the other.

Then their starting up with great Strength and Fury upon the Touch of the Witch, is the same in both Cases, their endeavouring to get at her to scratch her ; their continual crying out of her, or them : But there is this Difference in Favour of *Anne Thorn*, that she never recovered upon the Touch of any other Person, altho' she could not tell whether it was not the real Witch, her Eyes being fast clos'd ; whereas one of the distemper'd Persons in this Tryal being blinded, and supposing the Witch touch'd her, sprung up as usual ; when in Truth it was not the Witch, but another Person that touch'd her.

That part of *Margaret Arnold's* Evidence concerning *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey*, that *Amy Dany* had been with *Deborah Pacey*, and tempted her to drown herself, or to cut her Throat, or otherwise to destroy herself, is but too nearly resembl'd in the violent Temptations both *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street* have all along since their Illness struggl'd with, to destroy themselves ; and this they have been tempted to do sometimes by the Apparition of *Jane Wenham* in her own Shape, at other times by the Cat, which speaks to them, bidding 'em not mind what their Friends say to them, but kill themselves, and they should be well.

When the Reader compares the Evidence given at these two Tryals, he must needs perceive a vast Superiority of Strength in that of *Mother Wenham*. That which fix'd these Witchcrafts upon *Amy Dany* and the other, was chiefly the strong Imagination of the Parties afflicted, who cry'd out in their Fits, that these Women did appear to them, and torment 'em. There were indeed other Circumstances, such as their threatening the Relations of the Afflicted, &c. but this was the most material Proof. Now, the Prosecutors of *Jane Wenham* did not only bring all these Proofs, but strengthen'd them beyond

yond Contradiction by the Confession of the Prisoner herself, which was at large attested upon Oath by two reverend and worthy Divines.

I was very well pleas'd to find, upon reading this Tryal, that Sir *Matthew Hale* declar'd himself clearly of Opinion, that there were such Creatures as Witches upon the Authority of the Scriptures, as well as the Laws of all Nations, who would not have unanimously agreed in providing proportionable Punishments for the Offence, had they not been perswaded, that there really was such a Crime as Witchcraft. I shall now subjoin another very remarkable Instance of a Tryal, which in many Circumstances comes still nearer to the Case of *Jane Wenham*. It is taken out of the Collection of *Relations* at the End of *Mr. Glanvill's Sadducismus Triumphatus*; together with Observations on such Parts of it as resemble *Wenham's Case*.

An Abstract of the Relation of the Proceedings against Florence Newton, an Irish Witch of Youghall, taken out of her Tryal at the Assizes held for the County of Cork, September 11. 1661.

F*L*orence *Newton* was committed to *Youghall Prison* by the Mayor of the Town, *March 24. 1661.* for bewitching *Mary Longdon*, who gave Evidence against her at *Cork Assizes*, as follows:

Mary Longdon being sworn, and examin'd what she could say against the said *Florence Newton*, for any Practice of Witchcraft on herself; and being bid to look on the Prisoner, her Countenance chang'd very pale, and she was afraid to look towards her; but at last she did. Being ask'd whether she knew her? she said *she did, and wish'd she never had.* Being ask'd how long she had known her? she said, for three or four Years; and that at *Christmas* last the said *Florence* came to the Deponent, at the House of *John Pyne* of *Youghall*, where the Deponent was a Servant, and ask'd her to give her a Piece of Beef out of the Powdering-Tub. And the Deponent answering her

her she could not give away her Master's Beef, the said Florence seem'd to be angry, and said, *Thou had'st as good have given it me ;* and so went away grumbling.

Observation.

The Reader is desir'd to look back to p. 1. of the Account of Jane Wenham, where he will find something very like this in the Information of Matthew Gilston.

Mary Longdon goes on, and saith,

That about a Week after, this Deponent going to the Water with a Pail of Cloaths on her Head, she met the said Florence Newton, who came full in her Face, and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kiss'd her, saying, *Mary, I pray thee, let thee and I be Friends ; for I bear thee no ill Will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none.* And that she the Deponent went afterwards Home, and that within a few Days after, she saw a Woman with a Vail over her Face standing by her Bed Side, and one standing by her like a little old Man in Silk Cloaths ; and that this Man, which she took be a Spirit, drew the Veil from the old Woman's Face, and then she knew it to be Goody Newton ; and that the Spirit spake to this Deponent, and would have had her promise him to follow his Advice, and she should have all Things after her own Heart. To which she answer'd, *That she would have nothing to say to him, but put her Trust in the Lord.*

Observation.

How very like is this Hypocrisy of Mother Newton, who, to gain a greater Power to do Mischief, pretended a Desire to be reconcil'd to Mary Longdon, is to that Part of Susan Aylott's Information, p. 13. of the Account, wherein she saith, That Jane Wenham came to her House, and look'd upon a Child which was in her Lap, and strok'd it, and said, Susan, you have a curious Child ; you and I had some Words, but I hope we are Friends, &c. Soon after which the Child dy'd strangely. The Woman in the Veil here mention'd, cannot but bring to Mind the Woman in the Riding-Hood, who appear'd to Matthew Gilston, p. 1. and Anne Thorn, p. 4. and 8. and the Spirits speaking to Mary Longdon, and tempting her, is almost the same with the Cat's speaking to Anne Thorn and Anne Street, tempting them to come out, p. 23 and 36.

Mary

Mary Longdon proceeds, and saith,

That within a Month after the said *Florence* had kiss'd her, she this Deponent fell very ill of Fits and Trances, which would take her on the Sudden, in that Violence that three or four Men could not hold her; and in her Fits she would often be taken with Vomitings, and would vomit up Needles, Pins, Horse-Nails, Stubs, Wooll, and Straw. And being ask'd whether she perceiv'd at these times what she vomited? She said, *She did; for she was not then in so great a Distraction, as in other Parts of her Fits she was.* And that a little before the first Beginning of her Fits, several (and very many small) Stones would fall upon her as she went up and down, and would follow her from Place to Place, and from one Room to another, and would hit her on the Head, Shoulders, and Arms, and fall to the Ground, and vanish away. And that she and several others would see them both fall upon her, and on the Ground, but could never take them, save only some few, which she and her Master caught in their Hands. Amongst which, one that had a Hole in it, she ty'd (as she was advis'd) with a Leather Thong to her Purse, but it vanish'd immediately, tho' the Leather continu'd ty'd on a fast Knot.

That in her Fits she often saw this *Florence Newton*, and cry'd out against her, for tormenting her; for she says that she would several times stick Pins into her Arms, and some of them so fast, that a Man must pluck three or four Times to get out the Pin, and they were stuck between the Skin and the Flesh. That sometimes she should be remov'd out of her Bed into another Room; sometimes she should be carry'd to the Top of the House, and laid on a Board betwixt two solar Beams; sometimes put into a Chest, sometimes under a Parcel of Wooll, sometimes between two Feather Beds on which she us'd to lie, and sometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Master's Chamber in the Day-time. Being ask'd how she knew she was thus carry'd about and dispos'd of, seeing in her Fits she was in a violent Distraction, she answer'd, *She never knew where she was, till they of the Family, and the Neighbours with them, would be taking her out of the Places whither she was so carry'd and remov'd.* And being ask'd the Reason why she cry'd out so much against *Florence Newton* in her Fits? she answer'd, *Because she saw and felt her Torturing.* And

And being ask'd how she could think it was *Florence Newton* that did her this Prejudice, she said, first, Because she threaten'd her ; then, because after she had kiss'd her, she fell into these Fits, and that she both saw and felt her tormenting. And lastly, That when the People of the Family, by Advice of the Neighbours, and Consent of the Mayor, had sent for *Florence Newton* to come to the Deponent, she was always worse when she was brought to her, and her Fits more violent, than at another time. And that after the said *Florence* was committed at *Youghall*, the Deponent was not troubl'd, but was very well 'till a little while after the said *Florence* was remov'd to *Cork*, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Mayor of *Youghall*, one *Mr. Mayre*, then sent to know whether the said *Florence* were bolted (as the Deponent was told) and finding she was not, Order was given to put the Bolts on her ; which being done, the Deponent saith she was well again, and so hath continu'd ever since. And being ask'd whether she had such like Fits before the said *Florence* gave her the Kiss, she saith she never had any, but believes that with that Kiss she bewitch'd her. And therather, because she hath heard from *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, that the said *Florence* hath confess'd as much.

Observation.

Here are also some Things in which the Fits of *Mary Longdon* and *Anne Thorn* agree, particularly the great Strength of the Afflicted when in a Fit, so great that three or four Men could hardly hold 'em down. But there is one very remarkable Difference which I doubt not but my Reader has already taken Notice of, viz. That this *Mary Longdon* was always worse of her Fits whenever *Florence Newton* came into the Room ; whereas *Anne Thorn* constantly recover'd of her's at the Touch of *Jane Wenham*. And yet I think these different Appearances may be both accounted for the same Way. It is not reasonable to suppose, that either of these Alterations in the Afflicted, came to pass by the Consent or Procurement of the Witches themselves, who could not but perceive that they serv'd as strong Circumstances against them ; but this was done by the over-ruling Providence of Almighty God, to convict these miserable Creatures ; and either of these Ways might do as well as the other, since it is equally surprizing to see one in perfect Health fall into such terrible Fits at the Sight of any one Person, as to

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See another recover out of such Fits upon the bare Touch of a suspected Witch; both of them tending only to the Discovery of the Criminal. Thus Anne Thorn fell into a Fit in Court, when she first saw the Witch, but recover'd at her coming near to her. Here also the Reader finds some strange Circumstances, as that of the Hail-stones falling upon Mary Longdon, her being remov'd up and down, &c. which are different from any related in the Case of Anne Thorn. But it cannot be expected, that all Witchcrafts should be alike; and that the Devil should be oblig'd to act always uniformly, is a very strange Postulatum, which yet some of our profound Arguers against Witchcraft very unreasonably demand.

To go on with the Relation.

This Mary Longdon having clos'd up her Evidence, Florence Newton peep'd at her, as it were, between the Heads of the By-standers that interpos'd between her and the said Mary, and lifting up both her Hands together as they were manac'd, cast them in an angry violent Kind of Motion (as was seen and observ'd by W. Aston) towards the said Mary, as if she intended to strike at her, if she could reach her, and said, *Now she is down.* Upon which, the Maid fell suddenly to the Ground like a Stone, and fell into a most violent Fit, that all the People that could come to lay Hands on her, could scarce hold her, she biting her own Arms, and shrieking out in a most hideous Manner, to the Amazement of all the Beholders. And continuing so for about a Quarter of an Hour, (the said Florence Newton sitting by herself all that while, pinching her own Hands and Arms, as was sworn by some that observ'd her) the Maid was order'd to be carry'd out of the Court, and taken into an House; whence several Persons after that brought Word, that the Maid was in a vomiting Fit, and they brought in several crooked Pins, and Straws, and Wooll, in white Foam like Spittle, in great abundance: Whereupon the Court having taken Notice that the Maid had said she had been very well when the said Florence was in Bolts, demanded of the Gaoler if she were in Bolts or no: To which he said she was not, but only manac'd.

Upon which, Order was given to put on her Bolts; and upon putting them on, she cry'd out, she was kill'd, she was undone, she was spoil'd; why do you torment me thus?

thus ? and so continu'd complaining grievously for about half a Quarter of an Hour ; and then came in a Messenger from the Maid, and inform'd the Court the Maid was well. At which *Florence* immediately and cholerickly utter'd these Words, *She is not well yet.* And being demand'd how she knew she was not well, she deny'd she said so, tho' many in Court heard her say the Words ; and she said, if she did, she knew not what she said, being old, and distracted with her Sufferings. But the Maid being reasonably well come to herself, was, before the Court knew any Thing of it, sent out of the Town to *Youghall*, and so was no farther examin'd by the Court. This Fit of the Maid being urg'd by the Court with all the Circumstances of it, to have been a Continuance of her Devilish Practice, she deny'd it, and likewise the Motion of her Hands, or the saying, *Now she is down* ; tho' the Court saw the first, and the Words were sworn by one *Roger Moor*. And *Thomas Harrison* swore, That he had observ'd the said *Florence* peep at her, and use that Motion with her Hands, and saw the Maid fall down immediately upon that Motion, and heard the Words, *Now she is down*, utter'd.

Observation.

In nothing more does Jane Wenham resemble Florence Newton, than in her impudent Lying backwards and forwards, which was observ'd by all that talk'd with her while she was under Examination, and even since her Condemnation, she cannot leave it of, but it is every Day taken Notice of by all that come near her.

But to go on with this Relation.

Nicholas Stout was next produc'd by Mr. Attorney-General, who being sworn and examin'd, said, That he had oft try'd her, having heard say that Witches could not say the Lord's Prayer, whither she could say that Prayer or not, and found she could not ; whereupon she said she could say it, and had often said it ; and the Court being desir'd by her to hear her say it, gave her Leave ; and four times together after these Words, [*give us this Day our daily Bread*] she continually said, *As we forgive them*, leaving out the Words, [*And forgive us our Trespases*] upon which the Court appointed one to teach her these Words she so left out : But she either could not, or would not say them, using only these or the like Words, *Aye, aye,*

Trespases ; that's the Words. And being oft press'd to utter the Words as they were repeated to her, she did not : And being ask'd the Reason, she said she was old, and had a bad Memory ; and being ask'd how her Memory serv'd her so well for other Parts of the Prayer, and only fail'd her for that, she said she knew not, neither could she help it.

Observation.

In the Account above refer'd to p. 10 and 12, the Reader will find that this was exactly the Case with Jane Wenham. When she came to this very Petition, she could not repeat it ; no, not after another w^o rehears'd it slowly to her. 'Tis true, this Experiment was not made in Court, the Judge thinking fit to wave it, altho' it was desir'd by Mrs. Gardiner, towards the End of the Tryal. Neither did Mother Wenham care for it herself, having so often found herself foild at this Petition, and that, Lead us not into Temptation, &c. tho' her Memory was as good as Florence Newton's as to the rest of the Prayer.

To proceed with the Tryal of Florence.

John Pyne being likewise sworn and examin'd, said, That about January last *Mary Longdon*, being his Servant, was much troubl'd with little Stones that were thrown at her wherever she went, and that he hath seen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropp'd on her ; and that he hath seen very great Quantities of them, and that they would, after they had hit her, fall on the Ground, and then vanish, so that none of them could be found. And farther, That the Maid once caught one of them, and he himself another, and one of them with a Hole in it, she ty'd to her Purse, but it vanish'd in a little Time, but the Knot of the Leather that ty'd it, remain'd unalter'd. That after the Stones had thus haunted her, she fell into most grievous Fits, wherein she was so violently distracted, that four Men would have very much to do to hold her ; and that in the greatest of her Extremities, she would cry out of *Gammar Newton* for hurting and tormenting of her. That sometimes the Maid would be reading in a Bible, and on the sudden he hath seen the Bible struck out of her Hand into the middle of the Room, and she immediately was cast into a violent Fit. That in the Fits he hath seen two Bibles laid on her Breasts, and in the Twinkling of an Eye, they would be cast

cast between the two Beds the Maid lay upon, sometimes thrown into the middle of the Room, and that *Nicholas Pyne* held the Bible in the Maid's Hand so fast, that it being suddenly snatch'd away, two of the Leaves were torn. That in many other Fits the Maid was remov'd strangely in the Twinkling of an Eye, out of the Bed, sometimes into the bottom of a Chest with Linnen, and the Linnen not at all disorder'd, sometimes betwixt the two Beds she lay on, sometimes under a Parcel of Wooll, sometimes betwixt his Bed and the Mat of it in another Room, and once she was laid on a small Deal Board which lay on the Top of an House betwixt two solar Beams, where he was forc'd to rear up Ladders to have her fetch'd down. That in her Fits she hath often vomited up Wooll, Pins, Horse-Nails, Stubs, Straw, Needles, and Moss, with a kind of white Foam or Spittle, and hath had several Pins stuck into her Arms and Hands, that sometimes a Man must pull three or four times before he could pull one of them out, and some have stuck between the Flesh and the Skin, where they might be perfectly seen, but not taken out, nor any Place seen where they were put in. That when the Witch was brought into the Room where she was, she would be in more violent and longer-lasting Fits than at other Times. That all the Time the Witch was at Liberty, the Maid was ill, and that as soon as she was committed and bolted, she recover'd and was well; and that when the Witch was remov'd to *Cork*, the Maid fell ill; and thereupon the Mayor of *Youghall* sent to see whether she was bolted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid was ill, and desire them, if the Witch were not bolted, they would bolt her. That she immediately recover'd, and was as well as ever; and when the Messenger came from *Cork*, and told them the Witch was bolted, it fell out to be the very Time the Maid amended at *Youghall*.

Nicholas Pyne being sworn, said, That the second Night that the Witch was in Prison, being the 24th of *March* last, he and *Joseph Thomson*, *Roger Hawkins*, and some others, went to speak with her concerning the Maid, and told her, that it was the general Opinion of the Town that she had bewitch'd her, and desir'd her to deal freely with them, whether she had bewitch'd her or no? She said she had not bewitch'd her, but it may be she had overlook'd her, and that there was a great deal of Difference

rence between bewitching and overlooking; and that she could not have done her any Harm, if she had not touch'd her, and therefore she had kiss'd her. And she said, that what Mischief she thought upon at that Time she kiss'd her, would fall upon her; and that she would not but confess, that she had wrong'd the Maid, and thereupon fell down on her Knees, and pray'd God to forgive her wronging the poor Maid. They wish'd that she might not be wholly destroy'd by her; to which she said it must be another that must help her, and not they that did the Harm. And then she said there were others, as Goody Halspenny and Goody Dod, in Town, that could do these Things as well as she, and that it might be one of them that had done the Maid Wrong.

Observation.

All this last Paragraph (altering only the Names) is true of Jane Wenham. She confess'd to several, that she had look'd upon Anne Thorn; which dark Expression, I must own, I was at a Loss to understand, 'till this very Passage explain'd it to me. I see now by it, that this is a Term of Art among the Witches, by which 'tis probable they mean some less Degree of mischievous enchanting; whereas, according to Mother Newton, the Word Bewitching seems to signify something still greater, perhaps hurting even to Death. Whatever be its Meaning, I declare that I very well remember Jane Wenham's saying that she had look'd upon Anne Thorn. The Conjecture of the Editor of this Edition of Mr. Glanvill's Book, in his Advertisement annex'd to this Relation, seems to be, that this overlooking, or (in Jane Wenham's Expression) looking upon, relates to ὀφθαλμοῦ βάσκανος, and that the Magical Venom came out at her Eyes when she kiss'd the Maid. And he leaves it to the Criticks in that black School, to determine whether this ὀφθαλμοῦ βάσκανος be not the first Sort of Witchcraft, distinct from that of bewitching People by Images made of Wax; and whether afterwards this Sort of bewitching by meer looking or touching, might not be call'd overlooking. To which I add, that it is a common Expression almost in every Body's Mouth, when they speak of a Person suppos'd to be bewitch'd, that he or she lies under an ill Tongue; and why they may not as well say under an evil Eye, as an ill Tongue, I do not see any Reason. However, I offer this only as Conjecture, and proceed farther to observe the Agreement of this whole Paragraph,

ragraph, with the Case of Jane Wenham. Mother Newton here confesses, that she had done Wrong to the Maid. This also did Goody Wenham, and often would fall on her Knees, and pray to God to forgive her what she had done. Mother Wenham was desir'd to help Anne Thorn if she could; but she said she could not, for another was as deep in it as herself; and as Florence Newton nam'd two of her Neighbours, so did Jane Wenham also name three Women of Walkerne, as her Confederates, but could prove nothing upon 'em. I must needs say, when I first read this Story of Florence Newton, which was not 'till after Jane Wenham's being committed to Goal, I was not a little surpriz'd to find such almost exact Agreement between it, and those Passages to which I was an Eye and Ear Witness; and it serv'd to me, as I doubt not but it will to the Reader, as a strong Argument of the Being of Witches. For how should two old Women, accus'd of a Crime merely imaginary, in distant Times and Nations, agree so exactly in a Term of Art, which is suppos'd peculiar to those who are guilty of that Crime? How, I say, could this be, if there were no real Foundation for it, no Ground at all for this critical Distinction, between bewitching and overlooking.

Let us now go on with the Relation.

Nicholas Pyne farther saith, That towards Evening the Door of the Prison shook, and she arose up hastily, and said, *What makest thou here at this Time of the Night?* And there was a very great Noise, as if Somebody with Bolts and Chains had been running up and down the Room. And they ask'd her what it was she spoke to? and what it was that made the Noise? She said she saw nothing, neither did she speak, and if she did, it was she knew not what. But the next Day she confess'd it was a Spirit and her Familiar, in the Shape of a Greyhound.

That he and Mr. Edward Perry, and others, took a Tile off the Prison next to the Place where the Witch lay, and carry'd it to the House where the Maid liv'd, and put it into the Fire 'till it was red-hot, and then dropt some of the Maid's Water upon it, and the Witch was then grievously tormented; and when the Water was consum'd, she was well again.

Observation.

The Reader will find, p. 20 of our Account, just such another Experiment made at Walkerne, in which they also made use of
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the Maid's Water, only instead of dropping it on a Tile, they put it into a Stone Bottle; and it was observ'd, that while it was over the Fire, the Witch seem'd in great Torture.

Nicholas Pyne farther saith,

That as to the Stones falling on, and cast at the Maid, as to the Maid's Fits, her Removal into the Chest, under the Wooll, betwixt the Feather Beds, on the Top of the Deal Board, betwixt two solar Beams, concerning the Bibles and their Remove, his holding one of them in the Maid's Hand 'till two Leaves were torn, concerning the Maid's vomiting, and her calling out against the Witch, he agreeth perfectly throughout with *John Pyne*, as before.

Edward Perry being likewise sworn, deposeth, That he, *Mr. Greatrix*, and *Mr. Blackwall*, went to the Maid, and *Mr. Greatrix* and he had read of a Way to discover a Witch, which he would put in Practice. And so they sent for the Witch, and set her on a Stool, and a Shoemaker, with a strong Awl, endeavour'd to stick it in the Stool, but could not 'till the third Time; and then they bad her come off the Stool, but she said she was very weary, and could not stir. Then two of them pull'd her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awl, and it dropt into his Hand with half an Inch broke off the Blade of it, and they all look'd to have found where it had been stuck, but could find no Place where any Entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl, and put it into the Maid's Hand, and one of them took the Maid's Hand, and ran violently at the Witch's Hand with it, but could not enter it, tho' the Awl was so bent, that none of them could put it strait again. Then *Mr. Blackwall* took a Launce and launc'd one of her Hands an Inch and half long, and a quarter deep, but it bled not at all; then he launc'd the other Hand, and then they bled.

Observation.

Here again Florence Newton and Jane Wenham agree in the Difficulty there was in fetching Blood of either of them. Page 19 of the Account, the Reader may see, that Mr. Chauncy stuck several Pins into Jane Wenham's Arms, and one up to the Head, yet no Blood follow'd, neither did she seem sensible of any Pain.

Edward

Edward Perry farther saith, That after she was in Prison, he went with *Roger Hawkins*, and others, to discourse with the Witch about the Maid, and they ask'd what it was she spake to the Day before? and after some Denyal, she said it was a Greyhound, which was her Familiar, and went out at the Window; and then she said, *If I have done the Maid Hurt, I am sorry for it.* And being then ask'd whether she had done her any Hurt? she said she never did bewitch her, but confels'd she had overlook'd her, at the Time she kiss'd her, but that she could not now help her; for none could help that did the Mischief, but others. And farther the Deponent saith, That after at the Assize at *Casbal*, he meeting with one *William Lap*, and discoursing about these Passages with him, the said *Lap* told the Deponent, that if he would but take a Tile off the House near the Place where the Witch lay, and beat it red hot in the Fire, and then take some of the Maid's Water and drop upon it, that so long as this was doing, he should find the Witch grievously tormented. That afterwards he, *Edward Perry*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, put this in Practice, and found that the Witch was extreemly tormented and vex'd, and when the Experiment was over, she came to her self; and then they ask'd her how she came to hurt the Maid? and she said, That what Evil she thought against the Maid that Time she kiss'd her, that would fall upon her; and that she could not have hurt her, except she had touch'd her; and then she fell upon her Knees, and confels'd she had wrong'd the Maid, and desir'd God to forgive her. And then they put her upon saying the Lord's Prayer, but she could not say the Words, *And forgive us our Trespases.*

Mr. Wood, a Minister, being likewise sworn and examin'd, deposeth, That having heard of the Stones dropt and thrown at the Maid, and of her Fits, and meeting with the Maid's Brother, he went along with him to the Maid, and found her in her Fit, crying out of *Gammar Newton*, that she prick'd her, and hurt her. And when she came to her self, he ask'd her what had troubl'd her? and she said, *Gammar Newton.* And the Deponent said, *Why? she was not there.* Yes, said she, *I saw her by my Bed-side.* The Deponent then ask'd her the Original of all, which she related, from the Time of her begging the Beef, and after kissing her, and so to that Time. That then

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they

they caus'd the Maid to be got up, and sent for *Florence Newton*, but she refus'd to come, pretending she was sick, tho' indeed it appear'd she was well. Then the Mayor of *Tonghall* came in, and spoke with the Maid, and then sent again, and caus'd *Florence Newton* to be brought in, and immediately the Maid fell into her Fit far more violent, and three times as long as at any other Time; and all the Time the Witch was in the Chamber, the Maid cry'd out continually of being hurt here and there, but never nam'd the Witch, but as soon as she was remov'd, then she cry'd out against her by the Name of *Gammar Newton*, and this for several times. And still, when the Witch was out of the Room, the Maid would desire to go to Prayers, and he found good Affections in her in Time of Prayer; but when the Witch was brought in again, tho' never so privately, altho' she could not possibly, as the Deponent conceives, see her, she would be immediately senseless, and like to be strangl'd, and so would continue 'till the Witch was taken out; and then, tho' never so privately carry'd away, she would come again to her Senses. That afterwards *Mr. Greatrix*, *Mr. Blackwall*, and some others, who would needs satisfy themselves in the Influence of the Witch's Presence, try'd it, and found it several times, altho' it was done with all possible Privacy, and so as none could think it possible for the Maid to know either of the Witch's coming in, or going out.

Observation.

Here is, as in Wenham's Tryal, a Clergy-man evidencing against the Prisoner, altho' I do not hear any Reflections made upon him for so doing; and there are two Things very remarkable in his Testimony, one, that he found good Affections in the Maid in Time of Prayer; the other, that there was a strange Alteration in her upon the Witch's coming into the Room. The first of these was always observ'd in Anne Thorn, who, as soon as recover'd out of her Fits, which was immediately upon their beginning to pray by her, always join'd in the Prayers with great Signs of Devotion and Trust in God, and in her Intervals, she was almost constantly reading or praying. There was also observ'd in her as great an Alteration upon Sight of the Witch, as in Mary Longdon, only it was for the better, which, as I have observ'd already, may be accounted for the same way as the others growing worse at the Presence of Florence Newton.

The

The next Witness at the Tryal, was *Richard Magre*, Mayor of *Toughall*, who being sworn, saith, That about the 24th of *March* last, he sent for *Florence Newton*, and examin'd her about the Maid, and she at first deny'd it, and accus'd *Goody Halfpenny* and *Goody Dod*, but at Length, when he had caus'd a Boat to be provided, and had thought to have try'd the Water-Experiment on them all three, then *Florence Newton* confess'd, that she had overlook'd the Maid, and done her Wrong with a Kiss; for which she was heartily sorry, and pray'd God to forgive her. Then he likewise examin'd the other two Women, *Halfpenny* and *Dod*, but they utterly deny'd it, and were content to abide any Tryal; whereupon he caus'd *Dod*, *Halfpenny*, and *Florence* to be carry'd to the Maid; and he told her, these two Women, or one of them, were said by *Gammar Newton* to have done her Hurt. But she answer'd, *No, no, they are honest Women, but it is Gammar Newton that hurts me, and I believe she is not far off.* That then they afterwards brought in *Newton* privately, and then she fell into a most violent Fit, ready to be strangl'd, 'till the Witch was remov'd; and this for three several Times. He farther deposeth, That there were three Aldermen in *Toughall*, whose Children she had kiss'd, as he had heard them affirm, and that all the Children dy'd presently after; and as to the sending to *Cork* to have the Bolts put on, he swears as is formerly depos'd.

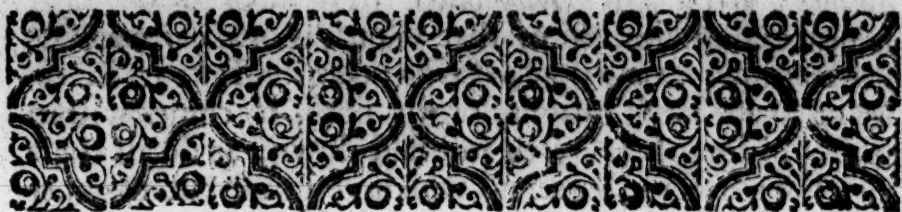
Observation.

Thus the Reader may find, p. 16 and 17 of the above-mention'd Account, that *Jane Wenham* accus'd three Women of *Walkerne*, who were brought before *Sir Henry Chauncy*; and while he was examining *Jane Wenham* concerning them, *Anne Thorn* fell into a Fit, and every one of these three Women were brought to her, and touch'd her, but she seem'd not to perceive them in the least. Then *Jane Wenham* was privately brought to her, and touch'd her, and she sprung up immediately as usual; and afterwards she said she could not say any Thing against these Women, who were thereupon discharg'd. It is really very remarkable to see these two Cases agree in so many minute Circumstances, insomuch, that the one Story seems to be only an Imitation of the other: And yet I can say, to my certain Knowledge, that all these Things were done before this Tryal of *Florence Newton* was taken Notice of by any concern'd in the Prosecution of *Jane Wenham*.

To proceed.

Joseph Thomson being sworn, said, That he went in *March* last with *Roger Hawkins*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, to the Prison, to confer with *Florence Newton* about the Maid, but she would confess nothing that Time: But towards Night there was a Noise at the Prison-Door, as if something had shook the Door, and *Florence* started up, and said, *What aileth thee to be here at this Time of the Night?* and there was much Noise. And they ask'd her what she spoke to? and what made the great Noise? But she deny'd that she spake, or that she knew of any Noise, and said, *If I spoke, I said I knew not what.* And they went their ways that Time, and went to her again the next Night, and ask'd her very seriously about the last Night's Passage, and the Noise. And then she confess'd to them, that it was a Greyhound that came to her, and that she had seen it formerly, and that it went out at the Window. And then she confess'd, that she had done the Maid wrong, for which she was sorry, and desir'd God to forgive her.

This was the most material Evidence against *Florence Newton*, for bewitching *Mary Longdon*. She was also indicted for bewitching to Death one *David Jones*, by kissing his Hand thro' the Prison-Gate; but this no way resembling *Wenham's* Case, I refer the Reader to the Relation it self, at the End of *Mr. Glanvill's Sadducismus Triumphatus*. One Thing only I shall take Notice of to him, that the Author of the Advertisement annex'd to it, saith, That he conceiveth this Relation to be taken out of a Copy of an authentick Record, every half Sheet having *W. Aston* writ in the Margent, and *W. Aston* at the End, whom he supposes to be some Publick Notary, or Record-Keeper. He adds this Witch of *Youghall* is so famous, that he hath heard *Mr. Greatrix* speak of her at my Lord *Conway's* at *Ragley*. And for my own Part, I hope the surprizing Agreement of this Story with *Jane Wenham's*, will sufficiently justify my inserting it here.



A short ANSWER to the principal Objections made, first, Against the Being and Power of Witches in general: And secondly, The Case of Jane Wenham in particular.

AFTER a Relation of Matter of Fact so very strange, and yet so well attested, as the Account of the Sorceries and Enchantments of *Jane Wenham*, I thought fit, in order to satisfy some well-meaning Men, who have imbib'd a strong Prejudice against the Being of Witches, to set before them the principal Objections against it; and in as clear a Method as I can, to shew the Emptiness of those noisy Exceptions made against the Prosecutors of *Jane Wenham*, as if they attempted to take away a poor Woman's Life, for a Crime that she cannot, if she would, be guilty of. But before I do this, I must premise, that nothing here alledg'd, is intended to convince those that deny the Being of *Spirits in general*, and in Consequence the *Immateriality of Human Souls*, and the *Existence of a God*. I don't pretend, by this plain Narrative, to convince *Atheists*, but refer 'em to the many excellent Authors that have treated on those noble Subjects, and shall here suppose my Reader to believe both the Being of a God, and the Truth of the holy Scriptures; and such a one I desire only to attend with Impartiality, while I endeavour to remove his Scruples.

In order to which, it is necessary, in the first Place, to fix the Meaning of the Word *Witch*; by which I mean *One, who, by open or secret League, consenteth to use the Aid and Assistance of an evil Spirit, in working Wonders beyond the ordinary Power of Nature*. By Wonders I do not mean *Miracles*, which can only be done by divine Power; but *strange Things*, preter-natural, not super-natural. The Hebrew Word [*Alecasseph*] is translated by the Septuagint *capnands*, which signifies *Veneficus*, in the vulgar Latin *Maleficus*;

Maleficus, altho' Dr. Moore saith from *Aben Ezra*, That the proper Signification of that Word, is one *qui mutat & transformat Res naturales ad Aspectum Oculi*. Take it in either of these Significations, or in both, it comes within the Definition of a Witch just laid down, as do all those other Words for a Sorcerer, which you find put together in the 18th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, Ver. 10, 11. *There shall not be found among you any one that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchantor, or a Witch, or a Charmr, or a Consulter with a familiar Spirit, or a Necromancer*. All these Words imply doing or telling something wonderful, by Virtue of a Confederacy with an evil Spirit. The Word *parwand* does also imply the making Use of natural Means, such as Herbs, Ointments, &c. to do strange Things withal, by the Assistance of their confederate Spirit. All these, I say, are so many Names for a Witch, who may have several Properties more than any one of these Names intimates; for which Reason they seem to be put all together in this Command of God to his People, not to suffer any such Persons among them.

Having thus fix'd the Meaning of the Word, I come to the first general Objection made against the Being of Witches, which is this:

Obj. 1. That the Actions ascrib'd to Witches, are impossible in their own Nature to be done by Man, and very ridiculous.

Ans. That there are indeed many Circumstances in the Stories of Witches, very strange and unaccountable, I readily allow; and farther, that they are impossible to be perform'd by Man, without the Assistance of some other Power: But then this very Thing is a strong Argument, that there is really the Assistance of some Spirit actually employ'd in doing these Wonders. If I see, for Instance, as in the Case of *Anne Thorn*, a poor lame Creature, that the Minute before could scarce creep on the Ground; if I see her on the Sudden start up, and run with a most prodigious Swiftncss, and nimbly vault over a Five-Bar Gate. When I see this, I say, I am ready enough to believe it could not ordinarily be done; but then, for that very Reason I ascribe it to the Power of the Devil; so that the seeming Impossibility of the Thing, proves it to be done by Witchcraft: And in such Cases all depends on the Strength and Credibility of the Evidence, as to Matter of Fact.

Fact. But certainly 'tis a very wild way of Arguing, to conclude, that because a Thing which is sworn by several and credible Eye-witnesses, is strange and unaccountable, nay, impossible to be perform'd by Man alone, that therefore it must be false, and never done at all. At this Rate no Man must believe his Senses, and consequently all the Testimony of Miracles to the Truth of the Gospel, falls to the Ground. Ought not rather every wise and discerning Man, at the Sight of such wonderful Things, immediately to apply himself to discover, whether the Thing may not, in its own Nature, imply no Contradiction, but be, altho' above the Power of Man, yet within that of some *other immaterial Agent*; and by other Circumstances to discover what that Agent is, whether a good Angel, or an evil Spirit?

We ought in these Cases carefully to distinguish between what is impossible in its own Nature, and consequently implies a Contradiction; and what may be done, altho' we cannot conceive the *Modus* of it; which shews indeed the Weakness of human Understanding, and the Imperfection and Short-sightedness of our Apprehensions; but is no more an Argument against the Reality of such Performances, than it is against the Truth of this Proposition, *The Fœtus is really form'd in the Womb of a Woman*, because we know not the Manner how it is so form'd. Methinks it savours too much of Pride and Conceitedness, for a Man to exalt his own Opinion above the clearest Testimony and plainest Demonstrations of Fact; and to chuse rather to give the Lie to all the World, than believe a Thing beyond the Reach of his narrow Conceptions.

As for Things of this Nature being ridiculous; if those who cannot understand, and therefore will not believe them, are resolv'd to turn 'em into Ridicule, who can help it? It neither detracts from the Truth nor Credibility of any Matter of Fact, that some, who are wise in their own Conceits, make a Jest of it. This only proceeds from a conceited Ignorance, the Censure or Applauses of which are equally below a wise Man's Regard. So that, in short, the Answer to this Objection, comes to this, That unless it can be prov'd that those Things are impossible to be done by any Power whatsoever, *that of Spirits not excepted*, this Objection can be of no Force against the Testimony of our Senses, or that of credible Eye-witnesses to *Matter of Fact*.

Obj. 2. It is very improbable that a Spirit of such Wisdom and Power as the Devil, should stoop so low as to submit to be at the Command of a silly old Woman, and run up and down to execute her petty Revenge.

Ans. That there are Orders and Degrees of evil Spirits, is not at all improbable ; and, upon this Supposition, it will not be absolutely necessary, to put the *Prince of Darkness himself* upon these little servile Employments ; but we may well enough ascribe it to one of his inferior Agents. It is also the Opinion of some learned and ingenious Men, that the Familiars of Witches, may be the departed human Souls of some wicked and malicious Men, possess'd with an insatiable Thirst after Mischief, which by the *Laws* and *Capacity* of their *Condition*, they may not be capable of executing themselves ; these may be employ'd in some of the meanest Services of the Kingdom of Hell. We know that the Souls of good Men, in a separate State, are said to be *ισάγγελοι*, or in a like Condition with the blessed Angels ; and why then may not the Souls of evil Men be also *ισοδαίμονες*, in the worst Sense of the World, in a Condition or State like that of the infernal Angels ? And what if we should farther suppose many of these Witches Imps, to be the departed Souls of some that have been Witches themselves ! I see nothing unreasonable in this Conjecture ; which if allow'd, a still more probable Account may still be given of some of the most vile and mean Performances of such Spirits ; altho' all the greater Wonders of Witchcraft, such as raising Storms and Tempests, and the like, are undoubtedly done by the Devil himself, that *God of this World*, and *Prince of the Power of the Air*. I urge farther, that supposing these Familiars to be really *Devils*, that is, such *Spirits* as had before their Fall been *Angels of Light* ; yet still the only Difficulty here objected, comes to this, That the greatest Degree of Wickedness is also the most abject Baseness, and vilest Slavery. And how this can be of any Force against Matter of Fact, and the clearest Testimony, I leave to the Judgment of any sensible and impartial Reader. I come now to a more specious Objection.

Obj. 3. It is inconsistent with the Providence of God, to permit the Power of Witches to hurt the Innocent ; such as Children, who are most subject to be bewitch'd.

Ans. Suppose I should bring an Argument against the Providence of Almighty God, from the *other* Dangers and
Violences

Violences that Children are expos'd to, either from Accident, or Cruelty of their Neighbours ; and upon Sight of a murder'd Child, should exclaim against the *Justice* of *Heaven*, for not miraculously protecting it against the Barbarity of its inhuman Butcher: Should I not immediately be reprimanded for murmuring against God, and forgetting the many and wonderful Preservations of others ? Should I not be put in Mind, that considering the Weakness of that State, it is rather wonderful that there should be so *few* Instances of this Kind, than that there should be *any* ? Just so it is in this Case, considering the Power, the Number, and implacable Malice of evil Spirits, it is only owing to the Care of Providence over us, that there are so *few* of us subject to their Power; and if some Witches are permitted to hurt now and then one of their innocent Neighbours, it is certainly for some wise and good End that they are so permitted ; such as perhaps the Discovery of the Witches themselves, the convincing of an Unbeliever, or some other wise Reason, which lies hidden from our Sight among the unfathomable Depths and Mysteries of Providence ; against the Being or Justice of which it is no more an Argument, than the unequal Distributions of Good and Evil in this *Life*, the Ignorance and Barbarity of the much greatest Part of the World, and the many Perils and Dangers we are all daily subject to. And if it be not a concluding Argument against the very Being of Providence, it cannot be sufficient to take away the Evidence of Sense in Matters of Fact.

Obj. 4. It is also objected, that the Strength of Melancholly, and Force of Imagination, ascribes any strange Event to Sorcery and Witchcraft, which is the more suspicious, because the Persons accus'd, are generally poor old Women ; and those afflicted, are, for the most Part, either Children, or weak ignorant People; that are easily impos'd upon.

Answ. That the Power of Fancy is very great, may easily be acknowledg'd ; and yet, I must needs say, it requires more *Credulity* to believe, that so many and so clear Circumstances of Fact, as, for Instance, the Conveyance of Pins through the Air into the Hands of a Person when they are ty'd down, or the finding of very curious and artificial Cakes of Feathers in a Pillow but a little before stuff'd with Down, and other the like strange Things, to

be all but the Work of Fancy, and that forty or fifty Spectators should be all, just at the same Time, impos'd upon by the same *chimerical* Imaginations: This, I say, requires more Credulity to believe, than all the Stories of Witchcraft put together. At this Rate, no Man can tell when or how to believe what he sees or hears; and it puts an End to the Credit of all human Testimony whatsoever. As for the Reason, why *silly old Women* should generally enter into these Combinations with the Devil, it is probable, that the Devil takes Advantage of this their *Ignorance and Poverty*; especially, if accompany'd with a malicious Mind, and a Custom of invoking the Devil in Curses and Imprecations, as in the Case of *Jane Wenham*; and that thus he more effectually secures their Souls to him for ever, and puts them, as far as possible, from any Likelihood of making their Peace with God by Repentance. However, there is nothing more to be concluded from this Part of the Objection, than that the *Policy of Hell* is unknown to us, which cannot destroy the *clear Evidence of Matter of Fact*.

Obj. 5. Another Objection is, That since the Times of the Gospel, there can be no Witches, because our Saviour Christ came to destroy the Works of the Devil; and it is notorious, that he is driven from his Temples, and all his Oracles are struck dumb; from whence it is probable, that he has no longer the Power he once had to assist his Servants in working Wonders.

Ans. The Scriptures do more than once expressly mention *Witches and Sorcerers*, since the Time of our Saviour Christ, witness that noted Place in the 5th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, Verse the 20th. Besides which, the Story of *Simon Magus* alone might sufficiently confute this Objection, who work'd such Wonders, that he deceiv'd many: He, says the Author of the *Acts of the Apostles*, c. 8. v. 9. us'd *Sorcery*, and bewitch'd the People of *Samaritania*; and yet all the strange Things he did, were done by the assisting Power of the Devil; so that some Time after our Saviour's Ascension, this Power did remain to the great Deceiver; and I believe the Objectors will find it more difficult, than at first Sight it appears, to fix any Period of Time when this Power of Satan ceas'd. If they say it was, when he was driven from his Temples and his Altars, pray let 'em tell me when was that? Or are they
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sure that ever there was such a Time? Does not the Devil still retain such a Dominion over the Minds of whole Nations in *America*, and other Parts of the World, that they erect Temples to him, and fall down before him, worshipping him as a *God*? And why this Part only of the Devil's Power, which consists in making *Compacts*, and entering into Covenants with such wretched Creatures as *Witches* are, should be taken from him, and all the rest left intirely to him, I must profess my self not able to imagine.

Besides, there is one ugly Consequence from this Objection, which I believe few of those foresee that have it so often in their Mouths, which is this: If from the Silence of Oracles, and the Extirpation of Idolatry, it may be concluded, that the Devil is also forc'd to leave off all Communication and Correspondence with such vile profligate Persons as *Witches*; no Reason can be given, why from the same *Topicks* it may not as well be collected, that he is also put from his *nearer* Temples *within* us, and unable any longer by his Temptations to seduce Mankind to eternal Ruin. There is as great a Congruity of one Consequence with the Premises, as of the other; tho', I must needs say, they can neither of them be prov'd by any Logick I ever yet met with. I shall only urge farther against this Objection, two other Places in the New Testament, wherein Sorcerers are expressly mention'd, and severely threaten'd. The first is, Revel. 21. 8. But the Fearful and Unbelieving, and the Abominable, and Murderers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolaters, and all Lyars, shall have their Part in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimstone; which is the second Death. The other is in the last Chapter of the Revelations, v. 15. For without are Dogs, and Sorcerers, and Whore-mongers, &c. Here you see no less than Fire and Brimstone in one Place, and perpetual Exclusion from the holy City, the New *Jerusalem*, in the other, expressly denounc'd against Sorcerers, who are reckon'd among the vilest Offenders, and most profligate Sinners, such as *Murderers* and *Idolaters*. Now, what a Jest is it to suppose the Scriptures all this while fighting with a Shadow, and threatening Damnation to those who shall be guilty of a Crime impossible to be committed? If this is not ridiculing the Word of God, I know not what is.

Obj. 6. I shall mention but one Objection more against the Being of Witches in general, which is such a one as I would willingly have omitted, on Account of its horrid Profaneness, were I not too well satisfy'd, that 'tis often made Use of among those who call themselves *Christians*; it is this: If we believe Witches can do Wonders by the Help of the Devil, how shall we know that the Miracles of our Saviour were not also the Effects of a *Diabolical Imposture*?

Ans. To this Objection, the best Answer will be in our Saviour's own Words to the unbelieving Pharisees, Matt. 12. 26. *If Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself, how then shall his Kingdom stand?* The Design of our Redeemer's coming into the World, was to destroy the Kingdom of Satan, to preach Repentance and Salvation to Sinners, and to shew us the Way to eternal Life; how then could the Miracles of Christ be attributed to the Power of Satan, which he came to pull down?

It ought farther to be consider'd, that the wonderful Works of the blessed Jesus were truly *Miracles*, that is, above the Power of any created Being (that of the Devil himself not excepted) to effect; such as raising one from the Dead, who had been really dead so long, that those of his Relations, who had bury'd him, suppos'd that by *this Time he sink'd*, Joh. 11. 39. And what was most wonderful of all, raising himself the third Day. Besides, the Miracles of Christ were all full of Love and Charity, such as healing the Sick, giving Sight to the Blind, Food to the Hungry in a Desert, &c. Whereas nothing but Spite, Envy, and Malice, appears in the strange Things done by these Confederates of Satan, the End and Design of them being to torment and hurt their Neighbours. The Miracles of our Saviour bear upon them the clearest Marks of the Finger of God of Mercy; whereas the Wonders done by Witches and Sorcerers, do plainly indicate a Hellish and Diabolical Malice. Those who are so forward to raise this Objection upon every Occasion, would do well seriously to consider what that Sin against the Holy Ghost is, *for which there is no Repentance*. This was, in the Opinion of the most learned Divines, nothing but the *attributing the Miracles of Christ to the Power of the Devil*; and let them have a Care lest they also come near the Commission of that *dreadful Sin*.

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I have now done with the principal of those Objections, that are commonly rais'd against the Being and Power of Witches in general ; I come now very briefly to speak a Word or two to those which are more particularly urg'd against the Case of *Jane Wenham*.

And first, 'tis objected, that her Confession might be the Effect of Fear ; or if it was not, she might accuse her self falsely, only to be out of the World : That there have been Instances of this Nature, where discontented Persons have confess'd themselves guilty of capital Crimes whereof they were innocent, only to be rid of their Troubles by Death.

I answer, as to the first Part of this Objection, That the Confession of *Jane Wenham* was free and unconstrain'd, no Force having been us'd to bring her to it ; for the Truth of which, as I said before, p. 33. of the Account, &c. we appeal to Mr. *Archer* of *Sandon*, her near Kinsman, who was present, when she confess'd that she liv'd above sixteen Years in a Course of Witchcraft.

As for the other Suggestion, That possibly her Discontents might make her falsely accuse herself, to be out of the World, I allow, that in some Cases this Consideration may have its Weight. As for Instance ; Suppose a Man who labours under very great Troubles and Afflictions, and is known to be discontented, and weary of his Life, should voluntarily come before a Magistrate, and accuse himself of a capital Crime, and desire that the Punishment of Death may be inflicted on him for it ; and this, when there are no other Circumstances by which it may be thought probable that he did commit this Crime : In such a Case as this, a discontented Man's Confession alone, I must needs say, I think ought not to convict him. But this is quite another Case, and widely different from that of *Jane Wenham*. Here were very violent Presumptions against her, long before her Confession, which only serv'd the more strongly to prove what had been before alledg'd ; and indeed so strong was the Evidence against her, that many have been convicted upon weaker Proofs, without any Confession at all ; so that here is all the Reason in the World to believe her Confession. It is the Opinion of Mr. *Perkins*, in his Treatise of Witchcraft, p. 212. That when Proceeding is made against a Man at first upon good Probabilities, and he is thereupon drawn to a free Confession, that
which

which he hath manifested thereby, cannot but be a Truth. So I am sure it is reckon'd in other Cases, as Murders, Thefts, and other such Crimes; and why it should not be so in the Case of *Witchcraft*, I can see no Manner of Reason. If there be a Robbery committed, and a Man taken up for it upon strong Suspicions, that Man, if he confesses, shall, by such a Confession, be more strongly convicted; and, by Parity of Reason, if a Woman, upon violent Presumptions, is accus'd of *Witchcraft*, her Confession ought to be taken as a strong Confirmation of the Evidence brought against her.

Obj. 2. It is also objected, That one Part of *Anne Thorn's* Information, in which she says, that a Cat spoke to her, is very ridiculous and incredible.

Answ. Is it more ridiculous and incredible, that an evil Spirit should assume the Shape of a Cat, and in such a Shape speak so as to be heard and understood, than that the Devil should speak to *Eve* in the Shape of a Serpent? Which we are oblig'd to believe upon the Credit of Divine Revelation. 'Tis the Opinion of the pious and profoundly learn'd Mr. *Mede*, p. 223 and 224 of his Works, 'That there is a Law in the Commerce of Spirits and Men, that a Spirit must present himself under the Shape of some visible Thing: And he supposes farther, that 's Spirits are to converse with Men under some visible Shape; so there is a Law given them, that it must be under the Shape of some such Thing, as may more or less resemble their Condition. From whence he concludes, that good Angels can take upon 'em no other Shape, but that of Man, the most excellent of all visible Creatures; and therefore he says an Angel is said to appear, in the Gospel, like a young Man, his Countenance like Lightning, and his Rayment white as Snow, as it were resembling Man in his glorious State before the Fall.

He supposes also, that while Man was in his Integrity, the Devil could not appear in an human Shape, but was forc'd to take up with that of a Beast, tho' the most subtil and sagacious one of all the Beasts of the Field. But now indeed the Case is alter'd, Man being also fallen, and one falling Star (says he) may resemble another; and therefore he sometimes appears in the Shape of Man in his Imperfection, like a deform'd old Man.

Now, upon the like Supposition, why may not a wretched Spirit appear in the Shape of one of the meanest of the

the *Brute Beasts*? There is no Shape too base and vile to represent one of those miserable Spirits, fallen for ever from God and Goodness, and become one of the vilest Slaves in the Regions of *Darkness*. As for the Truth of the Matter of Fact, it is too well confirm'd by the unhappy Experience of the two poor Sufferers, *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street*, who almost every Day continue to see and hear this evil Spirit tempting and tormenting them in the Shape of a Cat.

Having now answer'd the most material Objections against Witchcraft, and this Case in particular, I submit the whole to the Reader's impartial Judgment; and as for those who are resolv'd to remain Unbelievers, and therefore will be very ready to start frivolous Objections, and ask impertinent Questions, I shall take no Manner of Notice of them, unless they will first make it appear, that a rational Account can be given of the whole Course of *Anne Thorn's* and *Anne Street's* Disorder, without ascribing it to the Witchcrafts of *Jane Wenham*.

I shall conclude all, with producing the Judgment of the learned Arch-Bishop *Tillotson* upon the following Text; which, I hope, will have some Effect with those who ridiculously object it to be meant of *Witchcraft*.

“ *The Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy,*
 “ *ἵνα λύσῃ, that he might dissolve or demolish the Works*
 “ *of the Devil; by which St. John does more especially*
 “ *mean the idolatrous Worship of the Heathen, which consisted*
 “ *in the Multitude of their Gods, and the bloody and barbarous*
 “ *Rites and Sacrifices, whereby they worshipp'd*
 “ *them; and likewise in the Multitude of their Mediators,*
 “ *between the Gods and Men, who were also esteem'd*
 “ *by them an inferior Sort of Deities. Both these Kinds*
 “ *of Idolatry had strangely prevail'd, and over-run the*
 “ *World, before the Appearance of our Lord and Saviour,*
 “ *who came on Purpose to deliver Mankind from the horrible*
 “ *Superstition and Slavery of the Worship of false*
 “ *Gods, to pull down this Kingdom of the Devil, and*
 “ *to demolish that Fabrick which he hath been so long a*
 “ *rearing, and so beat him out of those strong Holds,*
 “ *which he thought had been impregnable. See Sermon*
 17. *Posthum. Fol. Vol. 1. Pag. 127.*

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